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534 [24] The dwelling may contain a musical instrument or two not
• 177 necessarily connected with ritual, a one-stringed violin (probably inspired by European models), and more infrequently a flute.

The elaborate system of affinal avoidances makes it expedient
361 to allow some space between the home of the man who joins the
621 encampment and those of his wife's relatives. Therefore, a dis-
[602] tance of two or three hundred paces may separate two dwellings. Each family is afforded privacy, yet relatives and neighbors are near enough in case of danger. The comparative independence of each home is further safeguarded by the nature of the country, by natural barriers which often conceal one dwelling from the next, even though the distance which separates them is not great.
[721] Because these people raid surrounding groups as a regular course,
[312] they have reason to fear retaliation and therefore seek to conceal their habitations as much as possible. Desirable locations must be near enough to streams and springs to insure an adequate water supply and close to the highlands so that foes can be led into a fruitless and wearying search through the hills.

The possessions, the materials from which they are made, and
361 the uses which they imply make it plain that the food economy
484 is based on the wild animals and plants of the region and that the
221 people must be ready to follow a seasonal food quest and to re-
[433] move to a new locality when it becomes apparent that hunting or gathering is more rewarding there. A popular folk tale, explica-
[538] ble in terms of this life, tells how a man becomes separated from the members of his family and seeks to rejoin them, passing camp site after camp site which they have abandoned, until he finally overtakes them. Other accounts describe the frequent movements of the people, with those who have no horses carrying their goods and their children.

361 Sometimes a single household goes off alone on an economic
621 errand and even remains by itself for some time. But, ordinarily,
596 the extended family breaks camp and moves as a body. It can, therefore, be called the smallest unit prepared to maintain a
[433] separate economic existence for any length of time. Thus, even in the midst of the nomadic phase of his life, the most significant
[571] social bonds remain undisturbed for the individual.

Despite constant movement, population tends to concentrate

CHILDHOOD

47 857

There are practical jokers, even among the children, who 824
throw clinging or mildly irritating grasses (*Nama hispida* is one) 522
at someone or hide them in his bed.

The children of an encampment organize expeditions to search 857
for certain delicacies which are not plentiful or valuable enough 222
to figure in adult food economy. Ground cherries, the red fruits
of the nipple cacti, and willow buds are gathered, and cotton- [26]
wood buds are chewed like gum. The search for honey provides
another diversion:

> When I was a boy, so long ago I can hardly remember it now, there was a certain bee we used to get. When it collected honey the children caught it, split it open, and sucked out the sweet stuff from the body. They didn't eat the whole thing. Only children did this. I never saw grown-ups do it.

When hives are found in the trees, a smudge fire is started under the tree and the bees are smoked out. A cliff hive is dislodged by well-directed shots from slings. For a ground hive another method is employed: "When the hive is in the ground a boy stands over the small hole and lets the bees out one at a time. Others kill each bee as it comes out. When all the bees are killed, they dig out the hole and eat the honey."

To the stock of playthings which the child makes for himself 524
are added toys given him by his parents or other relatives. Little
girls are presented with buckskin dolls filled with grass,[9] toy cra- [824]
dles, water jars, and burden baskets. For the boy the obvious
plaything is a small bow and some arrows made of ocean spray, [237]
mock orange, snowberry, willow, service berry, or *Edwinia americana*. As a blanket for her doll cradle the girl uses a cottontail
rabbit skin. A rabbit-skin cap, with the ears left on, is made for
the little boy.

The older boys and girls enjoy swimming, a sport which a 857
child begins to master at about the age of eight. A practical pur- [481]
pose is credited to another activity:

[9] These dolls are not supposed to approximate the human form too closely, for anything that has great likeness to a human being but is not animate is suggestive of a corpse. The mothers would not, at first, allow their children to have dolls of European type, claiming that they were "too natural." [532] [177] [764]

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not possible for them to practice total avoidance, considered the ultimate in respect and reserve. The possibility of complete avoidance does exist for cousins of opposite sex, however, since they are of different households. One man who was asked how he would demonstrate his respect for his female cousin answered, "A boy shows his respect for a girl cousin by not visiting her."

From this conception of cousin relations it is not a great jump to total avoidance, and we find that some persons, though by no means all, do practice such avoidance. This is the only instance in which a true blood relative is avoided, though the married man responds to one of the most inclusive lists of affinal avoidances on record.

Avoidance of cousins of opposite sex "starts when they are old enough to understand such things, when they have grown to maturity, and lasts all their lives."

Šilah who are cousins, not sister and brother, sometimes hide from each other. R. hides from J.; they are cousins. They cannot see each other at all. It wouldn't be done between sister and brother, or between two boy cousins or two girl cousins. Cousins do it because they love each other very much and wish to show their respect. After they start it, they are very careful what they say about each other, for their relation is one of respect, like that of a man to his mother-in-law.

J. and S. are cousins. They have hidden from each other all their lives. When cousins do this, they give presents to each other in the beginning, and after that they help each other all the time. They hide from each other from that time on just as a man hides from his mother-in-law. Either the man or the woman can start it. You can't hide from a sister or an aunt. It is only between cousins of opposite sex that this is done, not between two men or two women. You cannot arrange with a cousin to use the polite form only;[14] it must be hiding or nothing. Of course, if you must speak to your cousin who hides from you, you might stand behind a tree, and then you would use polite form in talking to her. K. and Mrs. C. were cousins who hid from each other too.

I had a cousin. Just because she liked me, she wanted me to do it. I had been away to school. When I got back, she gave me a saddle and bridle. Then she asked me to hide from her. I said, "No." I told her I had been to school, that I didn't want to go the old way, that maybe the government would get after me if I did. So she said, "All right." This was about 1897.

[14] For an explanation of polite form see pp. 171–81.

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he coughed up nasty yellow stuff that tasted bad. They said this came from smoking too much. The yellow in the tobacco just got in the stomach, and more and more accumulated until a person could spit it out. Sometimes a person got pretty bad and began to spit blood—have what you call hemorrhage now, I guess.

The Chiricahua thought you could catch this from someone who had it, and that you got it from having intercourse with someone who had it. So a man would be ashamed to admit that he was spitting blood or yellow pus for fear that someone would say he had had intercourse with a woman who had this.

[757]

The Chiricahua had remedies for this. Some used "narrow medicine" [*Perezia wrightii*] for tuberculosis.[1] But lots of them were ashamed and waited until it was too late to save them.

832 [791]

Love ceremonies.—Love ceremonies are carried on by some men and women for their own purposes or, upon request and payment, for others who seek them out. Though this type of ritual is not equated with witchcraft, "charmers" are seldom talkative about their art. The danger in wielding a love ceremony is that the person who is to be influenced may detect and resist the onslaught. "Often a love ceremony that fails or is improperly performed makes a person crazy. There is a ceremony to cure the effects of the love craziness."

Certain objects and motifs occur time and again in love ceremonies. The four-holed flageolet, made of carrizo, is one of these:

[534] [177]

There were very few who played the flute. I've seen flutes played, but the Chiricahua didn't pay much attention to them. The flute must have come from the Western Apache. They use it a great deal. The Chiricahua feel that, when anyone is playing on the flute like that, it's not a good thing. It is connected with love magic, and they don't like it. Only people with love ceremonies use it, it seems.

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Many charges concerning the possession of love power are undoubtedly inspired by rivalry and jealousy. Exceptional success in gaining the attentions of the other sex, or polygyny involving a man of but ordinary means, may lead to the same suspicion:

The hummingbird is ceremonially used. I think some use it in love ceremonies and to influence girls just as they use the butterfly. R., they say, knows this

[793]

[1] Tuberculosis can also be caused by worms. In a trickster tale, Coyote, wishing to deceive his family, tells them he has lung trouble and that they should leave him for dead if worms drop to the ground from his bed. That the "worms" may really drop, he takes spoiled meat to bed with him.

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Theoretically, all adult relatives of the wife who do not automatically avoid her husband may request polite form of him. There are some of these relatives who will almost certainly ask for polite form and others who probably will not. Among the former are those who might have been expected to request avoidance, but who, for some reason, did not. Any other course would advertise the poor opinion they have of their relative or of her new mate. 602 195

But there will be more distantly related kin of the wife who have had little intimate contact with her. When such individuals meet the man for the first time after his marriage, they may indicate the unchanged nature of the association by speaking pleasantly to him in the ordinary way. Most likely they will address the in-law term, "one who carries burdens for me," to him, but it will be the "regular" and not the "polite" term of the set that they will use. [601]

As in the case of avoidance, where latitude in the matter exists and polite form is chosen nevertheless, it may be accepted as an evidence of friendliness and approval:

> A person who does not have to ask for avoidance or polite form but who does it anyway shows that he or she likes the relative and approves of the in-law. It shows approval of the marriage. I should be very proud, for many of the prominent men of the reservation use polite form to me.

The ages of some of the wife's relatives at the time of her marriage automatically prevent many polite-form usages (and avoidances too) from ever being established:

> A person could not request polite form from another until he or she was old enough to understand the custom, that is, until about eighteen years of age.[4]

> I don't talk in the polite way to S. He was little when I married his sister, so he couldn't ask for it. It's got to be started right away, so we have never talked in polite form all these years. . . . .

In fact, the relations established in lieu of polite form between a man and the younger members of his wife's extended family are

[4] The concept of the years of discretion, independence, and maturity has stretched with white contact. In purely aboriginal times an individual several years younger than the age mentioned would have been prepared to make decisions of this kind. But the substance of the statement would hold, doubtless, for preadolescents in aboriginal times. [884] [177]

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kill with its glance. Child of the Water forces those he conquers to agree to be of use to man henceforth. From the feathers of the monster eagle he creates the birds which exist today. Once the survival of mankind is guaranteed, the supernaturals prepare to leave for sky homes. But first White Painted Woman and Child of the Water instruct the Chiricahua in the girl's puberty rite, and Killer of Enemies frees the game animals from an underground "animal home" in which they have been kept by Crow.

As a result of Christian influence and white contact, certain accretions to this world-view have taken place. One of these is a story of a flood. This theme has been incompletely synchronized with other mythological events. Some informants place it before the moccasin game and the existence of human beings; others say it occurred after the creation of man. Some are inclined to omit it altogether.

The tale of the creation of man is another episode which seems to have been recently added. In keeping with the feeling that actual deeds are to be attributed to the culture hero rather than to Life Giver, it is said that Child of the Water shaped people from mud or produced them from a cloud. Giving this supernatural the role of creator imposes its difficulties, however, for in the most stable portions of the mythology he is said to have been brought forth to rid the earth of the monsters which were harrying mankind. Consequently, the creation story rarely becomes an integral part of the account of the exploits of the culture hero.

According to one tale, Child of the Water creates the white man at the same time as the Indian. In the division of the goods of the earth, Child of the Water chooses for the Indian (the Chiricahua), and Killer of Enemies for the white man—the former selecting the bow and arrow, the forested mountains, and the wild foods; the latter choosing mineral-rich lands, the gun, and agricultural food staples. In keeping with this pattern of Indian-white representation, Killer of Enemies is uniformly considered the less heroic of the two brothers and is actually described as craven on occasion.

Missionary teachings concerning the importance of the Bible have been registered in the folklore too. A man, sometimes named Herus (perhaps a corruption, through the Spanish, of

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Jesus), comes into possession of a book. Its loss will result in the captivity and misfortune of his people. At his death the book is burned, according to custom, with the rest of his possessions, and the dire results foretold come to pass. Stories of this man and of another who followed him and had a like adventure (Kantaneiro)[5] have a distinctly biblical flavor.

There are two other sets of supernaturals—the Mountain People and the Water Beings. The Mountain People are of more importance than any supernaturals so far mentioned, with the possible exception of Child of the Water and White Painted Woman. They are not mentioned in the stories of the period when the animals spoke like people but appear in a separate series.

There are people in the mountains who are just like us. They are not masked dancers, but they make masked dancers just as we do here. Those they make can take off their masked-dancer costumes and dress as we do. We hear the people drum in there and we hear the masked-dancer performance too. We hear words in there when we listen at cliffs or mountains, but we can't see the people. We call all these people in there Mountain People. They live in these mountains and have many children. There are girls, boys, women, and old men there. The real masked dancers are the masked dancers of these people.[6]

Two kinds of Water Beings are mentioned. One, a beneficent supernatural, is called Controller of Water:

He is some man, not of this earth. He is the one who controls the water. I hear of him in the songs, the ceremonial songs. In those songs and in prayers they talk of Water Controller who sits at the water gate and stops the water. They hold up their hands and sing, "Controller of Water, please give us a little water." He lives up above somewhere. He is only mentioned in the ceremonies that belong to different people. Some sing that his shirt is of clouds of different colors. Some say that he wears a shirt of abalone.

He holds the rain. He lets it loose or shuts it off. You sing to him if you know his song. If people believe and learn his song, they can get rain.

[5] In 1909 M. R. Harrington, who was gathering specimens from Chiricahua Indians in Oklahoma for the museum expedition supported by Mr. George G. Heye, obtained a story which associated Kantaneiro with the Mountain Spirits (see M. R. Harrington, "The Devil Dance of the Apaches," *Museum Journal* [Philadelphia], March, 1912, pp. 6–9).

[6] The name "Mountain People" will be used to refer to the total population of mountain-dwelling supernaturals; the term "Mountain Spirits," to those of the Mountain People who act as dancers. It is the Mountain Spirits who are impersonated by the masked dancers of the Chiricahua.

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753 More serious is a disease, marked by deformity, which Coyote
732 is capable of causing:

825 When a person has it, his face gets lopsided with the mouth pointing one way. Or he gets cross-eyed, or his legs or hands get cramped. There is a disfiguration somewhere. You can get it from a coyote—from touch or fright or smell, or from crossing its tracks. We kill coyotes sometimes, but we don't touch the skins.

Eye defects, particularly, are attributed to coyote sickness. "One man whose eyeballs turn up told me that his eyes were all right until he used a coyote skin for a rug. Since then his eyes have been bad."

753 The coyote shares his evil reputation with the wolf and the
825 fox. Most informants class the three together and claim that the ceremony that will cure sickness from one of them will serve for illness brought by the others. There is a definite feeling that the fox is the least dangerous of the trio and that the coyote is the
[763] most baneful. The appearance of a fox, however, is taken as an omen of impending death: "Gray Fox . . . . is connected with death. If at dark Fox goes near some camps, that means that someone in that group is going to die."

In the following discussion the nexus between wolf sickness and the evil influence of the coyote is made clear:

[777] The wolf, coyote, and fox . . . . bring bad luck and make you sick, even if you only touch them or smell their breath. Such contact deforms a person, making
[732] him cross-eyed, turning his lips, and making him twitch. At Fort Sill an old lady had her dog follow a wolf. The woman went after the wolf in order to help her dog, and she pulled the wolf, which was in a hole, by the hind leg. She became
[755] ill. She began to get cross-eyed and to shake, and her lips became crooked. Geronimo was living then, and he sang over her and cured her.[19]

231 Of dogs the people say: "We didn't have dogs in the old days.
177 Dogs make a lot of noise. The Chiricahua were on the run and couldn't have them." "We have had them only since contact
231 with the whites." Evidently the dog was at first greatly feared:
753
825 The dog was classed with the coyote, wolf, and fox. We felt that all of them could cause you trouble. We wouldn't touch the skin of a dead dog. When you have a disease from a dog, the saliva comes down as it does with a mad dog. You get a little crazy and go, "Aaaa!"

[19] Geronimo's coyote power ceremony (pp. 40–41) is probably what was used on this occasion.

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When a person has a special ceremony, from Lightning, for instance, he will pray directly to Lightning and will not call on Life Giver. But many feel that Life Giver is answering through this other source. Life Giver is an old conception.[11] The very old Indians pray this way. Some old Indians who don't know the first thing about Christianity the way the preacher speaks of it, pray this way. . . . . We think of Life Giver as a spirit of no particular sex. We do not attribute deeds to Life Giver. No pollen would be thrown to Life Giver.

Child of the Water figures prominently in religious traditions and ritual. However, it is believed that his work was largely completed when he departed from earth. Though he once busied himself prodigiously with the affairs of man, now he is almost a sky-god, magnificent and rather remote. Occasionally, someone believes that Child of the Water has "talked" to him. One informant was certain that this supernatural was reaching him through the medium of dreams, for instance.

For ceremonial purposes White Painted Woman is the feminine counterpart of Child of the Water, and the time of her direct impingement upon worldly affairs, too, is at an end. Perhaps the most important use of this supernatural in rites now is a symbolic one. For instance, in a certain lightning ceremony the earth is referred to as White Painted Woman. This symbolism proves to be a dramatization of the legend of the birth of the culture hero. Just as lightning strikes the earth today, so White Painted Woman lay down "while the lightning flashed four times and acted as a man to beget Child of the Water. This is why the three are connected, and to this day White Painted Woman is mentioned in the lightning ceremony."

The ideological association between the earth and White Painted Woman is found in more than one context. "In any

[11] Despite this insistence on the antiquity of the conception of Life Giver, a good guess would be that the present position of this deity is a response to European doctrine. The word that has been translated Life Giver can be literally rendered "the one because of which I live." The individual still refers to his personal supernatural power source by that same linguistic form or a slight variant of it. Life Giver is apparently a symbolization of supernatural power as such, the reservoir from which particular power grants and ceremonies flow. The European influence in this greater personalization of diffuse supernatural power can be inferred from the synonyms for Life Giver, which are Yusn (from the Spanish *Dios*) and "He Sits in the Sky."

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756 787 825 539 The man studied my father. He said, "There is no human who has come this far, passing the first man. What do you come for? You see many fruits here, and there are things here that are valuable above all. What you ask for your own good, for raising your children, I will give you."

My father said, "I come for one that is strongest. Are you the strongest?"

"No, there are two above me."

Then my father went on. He came to another man who was shining with a yellow light before him. The light made it appear as though the wind were blowing pollen from the trees around him, but it was not. This man also knew that my father was not going to stop there. So he brought before him two yellow horses with white tails. And a sort of wagon was there.

My father got in the wagon[46] with a guide, and they came to a gate, a big white gate. Everything was as white as could be, even the trees and fruit. Even the faces of the people there shone, and before him he saw all kinds of things. He bowed down four times, and the fourth time he was before a man in a big white chair who had a white staff in his right hand. This man was the last one. This man asked him how he got in and such things as that. My father told him all.

"We had better be moving," the man said, "for it is getting daylight."

So he listened and said "Yes" to everything my father asked him. Everything my father wanted, he got.

"I hate to see poor people sick. I hate it when people are walking along the road poor and without horses. I want to know what is best to do for them. You can give me what you think is best."

This man sang and performed what was given my father. And it raised him as though he had wings. There was nothing but clouds around him. Before him everything shook, and there was lightning and thunder. Much was shown my father, terrible things [witchcraft] and how to stop them.

The man handed him a staff. You'll always have this. It will speak itself. It must never be lost." He told him what was best. And this, they say, was the power of Bear.

After this he knew all the people and their ways and their thoughts, and what was going to be done, and what was going to happen to them. Afterward he did much healing, even for the whites and Mexicans. He was known in Comanche country and by the Navaho.

755 757 The curing ceremony which stemmed from this experience was recalled by the same informant:

He held a bear ceremony for four nights to heal the sick. That's as long as he would continue it. He cured many diseases through it. He used it once on a severe case of pneumonia, the worst case of pneumonia I ever saw. This was right out in the hills. The girl had hemorrhages with it. I thought she was going to die.

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[46] Note the elements of European influence in this story.

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wise not to swell the number of the latter by radical departures from established custom.

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In keeping with the principle that ceremonialism should be confined to recognized values, undignified religious excitement is cause for humor rather than for praise.

This is sometimes called "religious excitement" or "religious ecstasy." It is the same as what is called "crazy ceremony." This is when a person goes through violent clapping of the hands involuntarily when in a religious ceremony. . . . . Some people get so excited in a ceremony that they shake all over or hit one hand on the other. I knew such a woman when I was young. Some go "Ah, ah, ah, ah!"—just gasp all the time. I knew one woman, part Chiricahua and part white, who acted like this when the masked dancers performed. The Chiricahua believe that you get this way when you take religion too seriously. Some Chiricahua think this is funny.

The motives of the shaman may be questioned:

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A woman shaman got all this poor woman's possessions. She was treating her for a long time. She kept asking for things. Finally she said that the sick woman would have to come to her camp to be cured. C. said when he heard about it that, if she went, she would never come back. And he was right.

Outright charges of fraud are not uncommon:

That man was never known as a shaman. He just picked up those songs from anywhere and changed them. Now he uses them for ceremonial songs. I was out at Whitetail with my wife. He was sleeping in the next room. His son-in-law was out there. (This was when his daughter was still alive.) I heard him making those songs up. He'd sing it in different ways. He'd sing, "My song makes everything well." Now he uses it for a ceremonial song. After practicing he'd come in where I was. I'd sing those words, and he'd just stare at me. He wanted to make a church song;[37] then he turned it into a ceremonial song. They say that he is crazy now and that his songs don't mean anything. No one knows where he got them or what right he has to them.

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Even when the patient recovers, the shaman may receive but grudging credit from his critics. Of one apparent cure, an informant said, "It is hard to tell why he got well. Maybe the man was ready to get well anyway, or maybe G. cured him."

[37] Songs patterned after old Chiricahua types musically but expressing Christian sentiments have lately been composed for church use.

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224 hunting activities are intensified, but this industry continues through the year whenever need commands and weather permits. "The Chiricahua killed any kind of deer—bucks or does, blacktail or whitetail, any time of year." Ordinarily, the hunter leaves for the chase alone or with one or two companions. Sometimes as many as ten men will travel together to a site where the game is known to be abundant, but then each goes his own way. The individual character of the hunt is evident from the following description:

> In the evening, before going to bed, I think about where I am going to hunt. So in the morning I wake up at dawn and rise eager to be off. I may prepare myself something to eat, yucca fruit or mescal or perhaps some meat, fresh or dried, and eat it. I don't eat much, for my mind is on hunting; if I don't eat before going, it doesn't matter, for, when I make my kill, I eat. . . . . I leave alone invariably. Some of the men prefer to hunt in pairs, especially if they go on horseback, but I wait for nobody and go early, alone, because the deer are not wise in the morning.
>
> If I have the luck to kill a deer close to camp, I carry it back home and butcher it and skin it myself at home. The neighbors come around, and I give them parts of the meat. If I kill a deer far away, I butcher the animal out there, skin it, wrap the meat tightly in the skin to keep the crows from getting at it, and hang it on a tree so that the animals can't get it. Then I go home and return with my horse and fetch the meat. I return to camp then with the meat, and everybody is proud of me, and all are happy. I give meat to all who come around; among these are women without husbands, who are very eager for meat.
>
> If I am unsuccessful on the hunt, I keep going as late as possible, until dark, and manage to get home by dark. If several men hunt together, they might plan to stay out all night; but, if hunters don't plan it, they always get home by dark so that nobody worries. After coming home in the evening when I have been unsuccessful, there may be nothing to eat, but I have to stick it out. That's pretty hard, but I'm man enough to stand it until morning. Though I am unsuccessful, no one makes fun of me.
>
> [261] Sometimes there was no food, and we suffered much; in the old days the Indians could stand hunger, and they would tie a cord around their waists pretty tight.[2] If I have no luck hunting, I would go off to hunt like this every day until I kill something; but, if I have good luck, I can lay off for two or three days. I enjoy hunting, but when I have meat I may or may not feel like going hunting.

[411] [177] Most of the deer secured are killed with the bow and arrow. (This refers to the time before the introduction of firearms, of course.)

[2] It is believed that this reduces the discomfort of hunger.

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231 to four stout poles which are sunk into the ground. Inside, near the top, are perches on which the eaglets may rest.

An Eastern Chiricahua band leader had three eagles in one house. Then another was built. There were two in there. The little eagles used to go out and come back. They ate lungs. They fought like dogs. When they had had enough to eat, they went to the top. Eagles that are raised are never killed. After they have pulled the feathers off, they let them go.

One other informant recalled having seen eagles in captivity but sharply reduced the size of the cage employed from that pictured in the preceding account. The practice of capturing eaglets alive and raising them must be quite rare, however, for a number of other elderly commentators denied knowledge of it. One man explicitly stated: "We didn't keep eagles in a cage. Many were afraid of them and wouldn't touch them. We couldn't raise [361] them. We were moving all the time, staying three days or so in one place. That's why we stored our goods in cave caches."

226 262 It is possible that some individuals of the Southern Chiricahua band or members of some of its local groups make an attempt to secure fish and eat them:

My people eat fish. There was a certain river in Mexico where my people came. There they would lift rocks in the water and shoot the fish they found [252] there with arrows. When they were traveling they just put the fish on the coals and broiled them. They also used to boil them in water. They ate fish eggs, but they ate no shell fish at all.

Another informant, an Eastern Chiricahua who lived close to the Rio Grande, explained that those with whom he lived fished whenever they could and ate any kind of fish.

262 It may be, therefore, that the dislike of fish reported by many informants is to be correlated with unfamiliarity with this kind of food and the distance from any possible supply. The intensity of the repugnance and the willingness of many to equate the fish with the snake, suggest something stronger than mere unfamiliarity, however. It is more likely that the Southwestern taboo on [177] fish was beginning to influence the Chiricahua markedly and that the alleged similarity between the fish and the snake afforded a convenient rationalization.

In an attempt to explain why his people made so little use of fish a Chiricahua acquaintance said:

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262 [825]

It is true that the old Chiricahua wouldn't eat fish. They say of fish, "They are slippery and slick just like snakes, and they are relatives to the snakes. They are relatives to the lizards and all the nasty ones." It looks just that way to them. And toads and frogs and tadpoles are classed with snakes. The Chiricahua wouldn't eat them. They never ate fish until they got to Fort Sill. Even now I don't like such things. I get a headache from them. I'm not used to such food, and it doesn't agree with my stomach.

I was up at the Ruidoso River for two years as a guard. I had to look at the passes, and those who didn't have the right ones I chased out. Those campers would bring fish to us every day. The fish were cleaned and fried. I would say to my wife, "Let's try it." We'd try a little, and then we'd have to throw it away. There were those poor fellows running themselves ragged every day trying to catch those fish, and here we were throwing them away just as soon as the people left! Even canned fish doesn't agree with me. My wife can't eat it either. There was no mention of sickness from fish though. I never heard any ceremonial songs about that. Many Indians eat fish now; they go around and fish. [753] [178]

A similar frame of mind is revealed in another account:

People did not fish when I was a boy. Fish was not eaten; it was not an Indian food in the old days. We classed fish with the snake and thought it could bite. We thought it could cause evil influence. There was no ceremony connected with it though. It is only since contact with the whites that fish is eaten. Formerly we had no separate names for different kinds of fish. [825] [177]

A younger man reaffirmed this last statement and added, "We younger people distinguish different kinds of fish. We call catfish 'fish with whiskers' and perch and bass 'fish without bones,' for instance." This young man went on to say: [825]

It is perhaps true that P.'s group might have eaten fish. They were nearer water. At Fort Sill (1894–1913) about one-third didn't eat fish still—this many at least. The old folks didn't care if the young people ate fish. I ate it. I could eat it right next to old men who didn't eat it, and they wouldn't scold. A father would not object if his son ate it, but he would object if his son ate bear meat.

It is undoubtedly true that, since fish is not so definitely an animal of "evil influence" as the bear or the coyote, its use as food is more likely to be left to individual taste. Nevertheless, if the incident that follows is taken as a guide, the young man probably underestimates the animus of many of the older people toward fish: [825]

The old people won't eat fish or pork. Some won't eat pork yet, and few will eat fish. If my mother eats a little pork, it makes her sick right away. She won't have fish around at all.

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726 535 continue before the war party starts. One view is expressed in these statements:

They perform the war dance just at night before a fire. They dance all night for four nights. These have to be successive nights. The "fierce dance" comes first. Then there is social dancing until morning. The people sleep during the day.

The leader called all the men together and held a council. If they decided to go to war, they would have a big dance. Before going on the war path the Chiricahua had a four-day war dance.

[801] Whether this is a concession to the sacred number rather than an exact description is difficult to determine. At any rate, a one-night dance has already been twice mentioned, and the possibility of shortening these preliminaries is suggested in other comments:

They generally put on a war dance for two nights and then go out. They wait a day and leave the morning of the fourth day. They do this to get rest and sleep so that they will not have to sleep on the way.

The war dance is carried on at night. It is done for four nights, sometimes two. Then they go. Usually the men rest up a day before starting out.

These excerpts suggest that the expedition need not start the morning after the conclusion of the war dance, and this is supported by a direct statement: "The men do not have to start out immediately after the dancing. They set a day. It may be the fifth or sixth day after the dancing starts."

726 411 *The preparation for war; war practices.*—Sometime between the announcement of the expedition and the departure of the group, those who plan to go put their fighting gear in order. The standard equipment is the self-bow, arrows, wristguard, war club, and a stone knife. A few bring spears and shields as well. [779] After white contact, firearms appear.

The arrows prepared by the warrior are entirely of hard wood or have a cane shaft into which is affixed a hard-wood foreshaft. The tip is sharpened and fire hardened. Three feathers guide the arrow in its flight. Occasionally, arrow poison is employed. "We use it in time of war. To make it we use deer's blood and mix this with plants believed to be poisonous. This mixture is allowed to rot and then is put on arrow points." Variations of this

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formula occur. One calls for the addition of poisonous insects to putrifying liver; another is a mixture of deer stomach, blood, and thorny plants pounded together and allowed to spoil. Of the action of such poison, an informant declared, "A man hit with an arrow dipped in this turns black."

The bow and arrows are fitted handily into a well-made bow cover and quiver:

When the Chiricahua are on the march and are not using their arrows, they carry them so that the feathers come over the top of the right shoulder. When they are fighting, they reverse the bag so that the feathers come under the left armpit, and they can be snatched out of the quiver with the right hand. For a left-handed person it is just the opposite. Sometimes the quiver is carried over the chest so it will be more handy.

Few men carry shields, for their manufacture is associated with the ceremony obtained from weapons:

They wear the shield on the left arm (if right-handed). It is held over the arm by one or two straps, whatever is convenient. There is no buckskin cover for the Chiricahua shield. If I wanted to make one, I'd have to make it plain. To get it designed properly I have to go to a man who knows how and I have to pay him. A thing like this is made by a shaman, and you have to pay for it no matter how little it is. The man I go to uses his ceremony for my protection and puts on his design. Most shields have just a few feathers in the center and are of painted cowhide. There is buckskin around the edge only. They are very plain.

Spears, too, are most often made and decorated, either for themselves or for others, by shamans with "power of weapons." Before European contact, spears were essentially lengths of sharpened wood. Later, knives and bayonets were attached to the ends. Because the use of the spear brings the warrior within a few steps of his foe, fighting with this weapon is the kind of action expected of war leaders or those who aspire to that status. The spear rose in favor during the time of strife with the Mexicans:

I remember back to the time when the Mexicans and other enemies used guns that I guess they call breechloaders.[7] The Chiricahua were using arrows, war clubs, and spears then. The spear was used when the enemy was taking time to load his gun. The Mexican used to have that big gun. He would shoot once, and the Indian who was a good runner charged him and pushed the spear in him. The Mexican didn't have time to reload.

[7] Probably the informant is thinking of a muzzle-loader.

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might agree that a stone pointing in a certain way will be a sign. Lines on the ground are also made to indicate which way they are turning on the trail. Dropping a stick in the direction in which you are traveling is another way. [726] [487]

The wolf howl may be simulated by the members of a scattered party. "The warriors would call to each other with the wolf howl. When the Mexicans were our enemies, we used to howl to each other in this way so that the enemy would not know who we were." [198] [825] [648]

The smoke signal, too, is used to some extent: [726] [202]

If a group agrees that when they get to a certain place they will make a smoke signal, the others watch for it. None is made except on agreement. It has to be used during the daytime. Sotol is used to make these smoke signals.

For signal smoke a fire is built, and damp wood and grass are put on; this makes a smoke that can be seen for great distances. Whenever the Chiricahua see smoke from a long distance, they know something is happening. The smoke always means something, usually that there are enemies or that there is an epidemic. If it means the first, the smoke is from a mountaintop. If it means sickness, it comes from a camp in the valley.

According to another informant, the smoke signal can be used to determine whether members of an approaching group are friends or foes:

If one party of men sees another in the distance, it lights a fire to the right of it and sends up one column of smoke. This means, "Who are you?" If the other group builds a fire to its right and sends up one column of smoke it means, "We are Chiricahua and friends." To send up the smoke, they put wet grass on the fire and throw a rock on top. The weight of the rock makes the fire burn fast. Then you scatter the fire quickly to stop the smoke.

Finally, the smoke signal serves to acquaint the home camp of the war party's safety:

If, when the warriors leave, they are not certain at just what time they are coming back, the people who are left behind must look for smoke at a certain mountain or canyon that they name. These people have to have a scout looking for this smoke. For instance, they say they will be back in fifteen days. The days pass, and they are not back. Then those left behind look for smoke from that day on at the place they mentioned.

After the introduction of the mirror, some use was made of it for signaling in times of strife: [177]

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726 202 177 We used a mirror. Quivering a beam toward strangers and then casting out a long beam from you means, "Who are you?" The others reply, "A friend," by directing the beam toward themselves and then in a circle toward you. Flashing downward with the beam means, "Come." Flashing to the right means, "Go right," to the left means, "Go left."

726 821 One of the chief benefits of star lore, apparently, is to help raiders or warriors find their way about:

I can't tell you much about the stars. I never paid much attention to it. But you take a man like L.: he's been out at war many times. He has had to go by the stars. He knows all about them and what direction they are moving in.

726 805 211 Timekeeping devices are important to the warriors and to those awaiting their return:

Suppose you had promised someone to be somewhere in a certain number of days. You'd have to start at the right time to get there. So every morning you would throw a stone in a certain place and keep count of them. In this way you would know when to start. Or you might do it with marks on a stick. I have heard of doing it with beads on a string too. A few, maybe one or two out of the whole tribe, kept time by beads.

726 271 When a war or raiding party scatters, some individuals may lose their way, and they are likely to suffer from lack of water. Certain aids are therefore taught to everyone:

[824] We are taught, when thirsty and without water, to put a dry stick or stone in the mouth. I have done it lots of times. It starts the saliva and helps you. We melt snow for water when we find some in the mountains. Different kinds of cactus are used when we are in the flats. We chew the inner parts of the cactus for thirst. No matter how hot the weather is, that is always cool. Barrel cactus saved many people too. To get the water you knock the top off. There is water in there; it's like a watermelon. To get the water, you have to squeeze the pulp. And we get rain water from mescal. This plant holds water [in the basal leaves]. The animals get water from these. The deer and horses drink from them. In the south the big ones grow. To drink, the man uses a reed or something hollow if he has it and sucks it out.

726 291 [824] In emergencies, improvised footgear must sometimes be made. "When the Chiricahua were caught out on the raid or at war and their moccasins gave out, they took grass and tied it to their feet with two or three strips of yucca."

726 157 The warrior has little respect for a senseless sacrifice of life, but when he is brought to bay he is capable of furious resistance:

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When a Chiricahua is cornered and desperate and thinks the end has come, he tears off his shirt and headband. He tears off all his clothes but his loincloth, and he goes right into the thick of it. Sometimes he fights so hard that he gets away.

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The wounded constitute a major problem of war:

(752)

If anybody is wounded on the warpath, they try to bring him back. But it is often far, and they often die. If they get back, herbs will be used on the wounds, and the shaman will sing. . . . . Cures might be worked on the warpath if there was somebody along who knew how.

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Scalping and the taking of captives.—Scalping is a very recently acquired custom and one for which there is limited enthusiasm. A number of spokesmen flatly denied that scalping is a practice of their people:

The Chiricahua never scalp. They never bother with them. They don't like them. It looks as if it is against their religion.

I don't think scalping is the habit of the Chiricahua, for I have not seen many try it. It looks as though a few saw other Indians do it and tried it.

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Retaliation for atrocities visited upon them is the explanation most often given by those who admit that some scalps were taken. The Mexicans are frequently blamed for the development of this form of revenge:

The Mexicans used to take scalps. They started it first—before the Chiricahua. They used to take scalps, including the ears, and sometimes they took the whole head. The Chiricahua would make peace with the Mexicans. Then the Mexicans would give them liquor, get them drunk, take them in their houses, and cut off their heads. Then the war would start again.

Scalping is used as a last resort on a man who has made a great deal of trouble for the Chiricahua. Such a man, when finally caught, would be scalped and "danced on." He was scalped after he was dead. The whole scalp was taken off. In the dance the pole is in the center with the scalp on top, and they dance around it. The scalp is thrown away at the end of the dance. This is used mostly on Mexicans who did awful things against the Chiricahua.

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While the Mexicans were undoubtedly the special object of Chiricahua hatred during this period, the data indicate that the scalping of members of other groups did sometimes occur. But, in any case, scalping was never carried on extensively:

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It is possible that all these alcoholic beverages were inspired by the customs of Mexican Indians and the Spanish-speaking peoples to the south, as is suggested in this recipe for a sotol drink:

There is a story that the Mexicans were making a drink out of sotol. I don't know whether the Indians used to make it or not, but I guess they did because I used to hear the old men say that it makes a good drink. To make it, roast the crown of sotol in an underground oven just as mescal is roasted for food. Then mash it up. Squeeze the juice out. Let the juice stand, sometimes in a hide in the ground, until it ferments. If the weather is warm, it does not take more than a day after it is standing. Then strain it, and it is ready to use.

In much the same way a drink is made from fermented mescal juice:

Roast the mescal in a pit just as if you were going to eat it. Pull off the outer leaves and cut the soft inner part into small pieces. Pound them, put the pounded mescal in a hide, and bury the hide in the ground. Cover this and let it ferment for two days. Then take it out and squeeze it by hand and mix the juice with some water. It will bubble for a day or two, and then it is ready. It gets strong.

The drink from mesquite beans is no more difficult to prepare:

The women know how to make a drink out of mesquite beans by boiling them, draining off the water when they are soft, mashing the beans, and letting the material stand and ferment.

The favorite drink, however, is tiswin, or "gray water," a weak corn beer. The maize used in its manufacture was obtained by trade or theft from Mexican Indians, Pueblo Indians, and white settlers before reservation days. Tiswin is considered the most nourishing of the beverages and is often spoken of as a food, because its mild stimulation when taken in moderate quantities has helped many a person withstand the rigors of travel and want. "Many used tiswin for food in the old days. Many even gave it to children when they didn't have anything else to feed them." Tiswin is also considered the appropriate beverage to serve during any social occasion.

To make tiswin the woman takes mature corn and shells it. She wants it good and dry to start with. She soaks it in water all night. In the morning she puts grass in a long trench, puts the corn kernels on top of this, and lays another layer of grass over it. On top of this she may throw some dirt, or she may just put a

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261 251 421 768 dying out, more distant relatives are told about the cache, and the secret spreads out in this way, so the stores will be of use to those who need them and will not go to waste.

AGRICULTURE

241 • 177 184 No attempt was made to cultivate crops until very recent times. One, and perhaps two, of the three major subdivisions or bands raised no crops at all until the modern reservation period. The oldest Southern Chiricahua informant stated categorically: "My people did not practice farming. The Indians had many plants which were given to them [by nature] and did not have to farm. They moved around too much also." The Central Chiricahua were little more inclined toward agriculture. One of them observed, "I do not think the Chiricahua ever planted before they came under the influence of the whites." In 1873, shortly after the establishment of a reserve for the control of the Central and Southern Chiricahua, the first agent reported:

> In regard to the future prospects for farming operations by these Indians, I would state that I have conversed with Cochise and many of his head-men upon this subject repeatedly, and I am of the opinion that it will require some little time to bring them into the traces and make them submit to this exaction, which must eventually be required of them. They have never been an agricultural people, and claim that they do not know how to farm.[10]

But it is possible that the example of neighboring peoples who cultivated the land may have led to experiments on the part of individual families, as this statement of a Central Chiricahua suggests: "Even in Old Mexico, the Chiricahua tried to farm a little."

[648] [439] [175] [648] The Eastern Chiricahua, who seem to have had earlier friendly relations and trade contacts with the Spanish-speaking townspeople, began to farm even before the modern reservations were established. By 1869, according to government reports, the leaders of this band were complaining that they were being driven from lands where they used to plant.[11] Testimony from informants corroborates these old reports: "These Eastern Chiricahua Indians farmed before the whites came. They tell about

[10] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1873.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1869.

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the big ditches they used at Hot Springs." "We've had corn as long as I can remember." "The Eastern Chiricahua planted corn even in the old times." "All the groups of Eastern Chiricahua planted." Maize was undoubtedly the first vegetable raised. "When I was young," recalled a very old man, "we never had any cultivated vegetables except corn. Later others came from Old Mexico."

The influence of the Spanish-speaking peoples to the south in the impetus toward agricultural pursuits is admitted:

> The Eastern Chiricahua raised corn, pumpkins, potatoes, onions, chili, and watermelons. We had a good deal of contact with Spanish towns. We learned to speak Spanish, and the Spanish people showed us how to raise these things. We got the seeds from the Mexicans too. We got big hoes from them or traded them from the whites.

The Eastern band made good use of the intervals of peace:

> If a Chiricahua had a Mexican friend, he would get corn as a gift, and the Indian might give a horse or something else to the Mexican. We planted at Hot Springs as well as in Mexico. We received corn up here, as well as in Mexico, from the Mexicans living around. The Indians used to be good friends with the Mexicans often. When I was small I used to play with Mexican children. They gave me the name the white people call me by now.

The techniques of cultivation in use among the Eastern Chiricahua are described by an informant:

> We planted corn, cantaloupes, and watermelons. No squash or pumpkins were planted at first. Some Chiricahua never had pumpkins or squash until 1885 or 1886, except what they could get from other peoples.
>
> We used irrigation. We dug trenches from a stream to the farm and stopped these irrigation ditches with dirt when we wanted to block them. When the corn was big enough to hoe, we went out in the woods and made a hoe of bent root. Later we had hoes from the Mexicans. To make the holes for the seeds, we used just a pointed stick. The men worked in the fields; the women worked in the fields too, but mostly men did it.

Although this informant feels that agriculture is a legitimate activity for men, another disagrees, saying: "Planting was considered a woman's job. That is the way I feel. At Fort Sill men had to do it." "Men, women, and boys assisted," according to a third spokesman. Evidently, the division of labor in agricultural work was not clear cut.

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Another account from an Eastern band member adds to the picture:

We lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering plants. But we planted corn in May, too, with Mexican hoes that were traded up. The people kept camp near their farms then, tending the corn, watering it, and weeding it. Men and women both did the planting and other work. If the man was busy or off hunting, the woman would do it herself. Corn is a favorite food, because it can be used in a good many ways.

The Chiricahua picked up the trait [of planting] long ago in Mexico. Only some of the families planted corn, but they could share their crop with their neighbors. Only about six or seven families out of the hundred in a big encampment[11] might plant corn, and each family would do it on separate land. Others would help in the work on one of these plots, and then the owner would share the crop with them. The seeds came from the Mexicans, and many didn't plant partly because they didn't have seeds.

We also got beans, chili, squash, and watermelons from the Mexicans, and the Chiricahua learned to plant these. The Chiricahua never specialized on plants—each person who grew any, grew them all in his space. Some of the planted areas were as large as thirty acres, but there were no lines between; everything was free.

If some didn't want to plant, they could hunt. Then they would give their neighbors meat, and the farmer who had a great deal allowed anyone to take what he wanted. There wasn't any buying of things.

A more detailed description of the manner in which corn was planted by the Eastern Chiricahua is the following:

The corn is soaked all night. Then two or three kernels are dropped in a hole. They say the soaking makes it grow faster. Some plant the corn kernels deep. This is when they are not soaked. When you soak them, you don't bury them so deep. Beans and pumpkin and watermelon seeds are soaked first too.

Agriculture never became so important that its symbols were richly represented in religion or mythology. Occasionally, it is advised that the corncob be put back in the husk to insure an abundant future crop, undoubtedly an extension of the custom of replacing the unused part of a medicinal plant. There is an association of the katydid with crop-raising: "The katydid is an insect the Chiricahua will not kill. We say it helps the crops grow. We pray to it to help the crops grow." In discussing the

[11] It is doubtful that encampments of one hundred families ever existed in pre-reservation days. The informant's estimates of population and of the size of farms seem excessive in this statement.

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In discussing the various pollens used ritually, an informant included corn pollen and remarked. "You can get some pollen from corn; they used some of this a long time ago."

As in the case of other food products, it is the woman's task to cook and preserve the corn:

They would build a big fire and bring in load after load of the corn in sacks. Three or four women would work together. They would sit there and shuck corn and put it in the fire and let it get brown on top. Then they would throw it to a place where another woman sat. She would take the ears, cut off the kernels, put them on a clean hide, and throw away the cobs. Then they spread it out in the sun to dry. They would leave the corn out there for a week or two until it was very dry. They can carry that corn around then, and it won't spoil. It will keep for a year. They don't have to keep it in a cool place either. They store it in parfleches and use it in winter.

In the winter when the snow gets to be two or three feet deep, a man goes out and kills game and brings it in. Then they can use the dry corn with meat and bones, letting it boil together for three or four hours. It surely makes a good stew! We're using it right now, for we stored up last summer's corn. This dried corn is used at almost every puberty rite now too.

The dried kernels are also roasted or parched:

I saw my people cook corn in a shallow basket many times. They put several pounds of corn in the basket with some hot coals and keep working it around. The corn kernels split, and then they take them out and fill it up again.

Another corn dish reflects the influence of Mexican townspeople:

The Chiricahua never boiled the corn in the husks. They stripped off the husks. They cut off the corn kernels and piled them up. They ground the corn on a rock, using a big stone in the hand [mano and metate]. In those days flour was hard to get, and they made bread out of the ground corn. They used the corn husks to make a sort of tamale. They put some corn meal in a cornhusk and wrapped it up, tying it with a thin strip of cornhusk. Then they put it in water to boil with meat and bones. If they had chili, they put it in with the corn meal.

In season the corn is eaten fresh:

When they had the green corn, they cut the end off after husking it, broke it in two, and put it on to boil with bones or meat. In summer when the corn was ripe, they went out and brought in lots of it.

HOME INDUSTRIES OF WOMEN

In addition to her other tasks, the woman must furnish those things essential to the proper running of the household:

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281 When a skin is to be used as a robe or a blanket, still another procedure is followed:

When a hide is to be used for a blanket, the hair is left on. Deer and mountain sheep pelts are prepared like this. The inner side is fleshed carefully and pounded to soften it. Deer brains are rubbed on this inner side, and the blanket is worked until it is soft.

When they have those skins with hair on for blankets, they use them any way according to the weather. In cold weather they put the fur side inside.

282 Making saddle bags is also one of the woman's tasks:

281 After the hide is removed, the woman stakes it out in the sun. Sometimes she [462] has grass under it, sometimes not. The hair side is underneath. She leaves it there until it is dry. Then she takes it and puts the hair side up. She has a sharp tool with which to scrape off the hair. Then she fleshes it. After scraping it, she rubs it with the brains to make it soft. She doesn't soak it in water at all. Now she cleans, cuts, folds, and sews it. Then she cuts a slit in the middle and puts dirt in on each side. When the hide is entirely dry, she takes the dirt out. A bulge is left on each side where the dirt was. Then it is ready to be put on the horse.

415 The parfleche or flat hide container is a recent acquisition, and
184 its use has not penetrated to all sections of the tribe. Southern Chiricahua informants say that the parfleche was not made by them, and some Central Chiricahua report that it was not found in their group. One Central Chiricahua informant was much in- [186] censed, however, at the suggestion that the parfleche he described might have been inspired by Mescalero examples:

The Chiricahua had the parfleche, as I have told you. In fact, it originated with the Chiricahua. These Mescalero never went around or found out anything! They stayed right here year after year. They got the parfleche from the Chiricahua. I was with the Chiricahua when they were going from Fort Apache to Florida [1886]. Some of them had parfleches then. I saw parfleches in my own home.

281 The Central Chiricahua parfleche is very simply made. The
282 fact that cowhide seems to be the only material used in its manu-
415 facture points to its recent adoption:

[177] In the old days we had parfleches. The woman made them, and it is hard [462] work to make one. She has to scrape off the flesh from the inside of the skin and scrape a little of the fur off the top. She has to work around and around, and pound and pound it until she gets it the way she wants it. First she pounds it all

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A man must not only be able to make arrows but to use them effectively. In times of peace he keeps in practice by frequent competitions with his fellows. "If a man is expert, he can shoot one arrow, then shoot two more into the air before the first one comes down." Significant personal differences are found in the ability to make and handle bows and arrows. Some men are acclaimed as experts; others are credited with fair performance; while still others are rated decidedly below average.

The quiver and the bow cover are usually made at the same time and of the same material; they are always attached and are both called by the same term, literally "arrow container." Mountain lion skin is the favorite material for the quiver because it is thought that "it makes a man lucky." The fur and the tail are left on, and the finished product is called "quiver with tail." Deer, antelope, otter, and wildcat pelts, with the fur either scraped off or left on, are also used for quivers. Recently hides of cattle and horses have been used, usually without the fur. One informant asserted that the skin of a fetal calf makes a good quiver.

The man cuts a wristguard out of rawhide for himself. This laces up the back of the left wrist and has a projecting piece which protects his hand against the impact of the bowstring.

For a spear a man selects a sotol stalk or a young spruce, scrapes and dries the wood, and sharpens and fire-hardens the tip. Such spears are about seven feet long. The shaft is usually painted in one or more colors, and two eagle feathers are attached near the point. After contact with Europeans, metal knives and bayonets were inserted to make a still more deadly weapon. In battle the spear is never hurled, and it is used by the warrior only when he is on foot.

The round hide shield is connected as much with ceremonialism as with actual defense. It, too, may be a recent acquisition:

Just those with power have them. The man with power prepares these hides himself. He uses the hide from the shoulder region of the animal. He makes it just big enough to protect his chest and face.

First he takes the hide off. Then he scrapes all the flesh from it. He does this with a knife, a steel knife. (They made this shield only from the time they had steel knives and not before.)

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372 We take a little stick of wood about eight or ten inches long. It has to be good solid wood and dry. It might be juniper or sotol. It is shaved thin—to about the thickness of a pencil. It does not come to a real point at the lower end but is rather blunt there.

[824] We have a flat piece of wood made of sotol stalk or yucca. It is thin. When it is to be used for the hearth, it has to be about one and a half inches wide and about eight to ten inches long. The one who is going to work the drill makes a little hole or notch in which to put it at the start, so it won't slip around. This little hole can be at the center or at the edge. If the drill goes right through the hearth without a fire being made, the person can start a new notch.

We go to a juniper tree and get the bark, the dry bark, and get some dry grass too. We keep these tied to the set and keep the whole thing dry. When using the drill, we put the grass or shredded bark around the hole, and some of it in the hole too. If we can't get a fire quickly, we put just a pinch of dirt or sand in the hole. As a man twirls the drill between his hands, the smoke comes up. Sometimes the tinder blazes up. If it doesn't blaze but you see that you have a good spark, you take the stick out of the hole, push the grass close together, and blow on it until you get your fire.

All you need is two sticks and your tinder. These two sticks are wrapped together and carried around, for these are the matches of the Chiricahua, you know. They are carried in a bag tied to the belt or in the quiver when the men are on a journey. Dry manure is used to catch the spark sometimes. Some men can get a fire in a very few turns, but some blister their hands trying to do it and give it up.

372 824 831 The designation of sotal and yucca as male and female, respectively—a concept which figures in the construction of the cradle—is extended by some (but not by everyone) to the parts of the fire drill:

The same distinction between the "he" and the "she" is made when talking about the fire drill. The bottom part is supposed to be made out of the "she," the yucca stalk [narrow-leafed yucca],[17] and the top part, which is spun between the hands, should be made out of sotol, the "he."

372 [415] There are other ways of making and preserving fire. Sparks from flints can be caught in dry pulverized pith of such plants as the elderberry.[18] The flints and the powder are often carried in a buckskin bag, attached to the belt. In wet weather, when it may be difficult to rekindle a fire, a slow fuse of shredded juniper bark tied with yucca leaf strings proves useful:

[17] As the description above shows, this convention is not always respected.

[18] Probably the use of flints and pyrites to make fire followed European contact.

[177]

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If it rained we had a slow-burning fuse that kept a fire going. And when it burned to the end we lit another from it. Thus we kept a fire burning at a rainy time. To play safe, we usually took these fuses along with us in case of emergency, especially if it looked like rain.

Since the operation of the fire drill is considered hard work, whenever there is a chance of getting fire by other means, these are attempted first. It is not unusual, for instance, to send some member of the household to a neighboring camp to borrow fire. He "carries a hot coal between two sticks and runs back to his camp. Mesquite wood will burn the longest when carried this way."

Equipment for the horse.—There is a tendency to associate the horse with the man and his affairs. Women obtain horses by gift and in payment for services, particularly ceremonial services, but the majority of the horses remain in the possession of the men:

Caring for stock is man's work. Men round up the horses and cattle. When a horse is to be loaded, the woman gets the pack ready, but the man does the loading. Men make the saddles, and they saddle the horses for themselves and their wives. The women know how to saddle horses, however, and can do it when necessary. A woman might saddle a gentle horse. A widow has to saddle her own horse.

It is the business of the man to furnish the equipment needed in making use of the horse—the saddle, stirrups, bridle, bit, and quirt.

The saddle, which is modeled after European examples, has a cottonwood framework. Tree forks are whittled down to form the front and cantle. On the front a projection is left for the horn. Two flat boards are lashed between these forks, one on either side, to form the saddle skirts. Wet hide, often with the fur left on, is stretched over this frame and laced into place. As it dries, it contracts and fits securely. When metal tools came into use, the pieces of the frame were joined still more solidly by burning holes through the wood with a red-hot metal punch and drawing rawhide laces through them.

The man also makes a pack saddle, little more than a pad or frame of grass or hide bundles. He makes, too, rounded oak stir-

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492 rups, a rope bit which is tied under the horse's mouth, and a bridle with reins attached to the bit and tied together at the end. The quirt, of braided rawhide, is a foot and a half or more long and is fringed at the tip. The handle ends in a loop by [283] which it is suspended from the wrist or held. Yucca-rope hobbles are made; they are tied to the saddle when not in use.

232 If the horse has a sore foot and goes lame, its owner makes a rawhide pouch with a drawstring at the top and ties this over its [194] ailing hoof. Since these "horse moccasins" are always said to be made of cowhide, perhaps their use is recent.

492 The horseman likes to have a mountain lion skin or some other fine fur to throw over the saddle bag "to make it look nice. The [197] Mexican people did this, so the Chiricahua did it too."

The rider mounts from the left side of the horse, putting his left foot in the stirrup and throwing his right leg over the horse's back. If the horse is not in the habit of running away, the rider, when he stops anywhere, throws the reins over its head to the ground.

484 *Rafts and boats.*—When rivers or rain-swollen streams have to
501 be crossed "if there are just a couple of men on horseback, they [492] hang on to the manes of the horses, and let them swim with them." But if groups of people must cross bodies of water, the men make rafts:

> When we were coming east and got to the Rio Grande and it was high, the men took logs about twelve feet long or so and tied cross-pieces to them. It makes a raft about three or four feet wide. They had a rope attached to it in front. The best swimmers pulled it along. The rope was around their bodies, or they pulled it with their teeth sometimes. Some good swimmers would be in back to help push. One person would sit on the back to keep the front of it out of the water. Others who couldn't swim or who couldn't swim well would hang on to ropes along the sides. Possessions, sick people, or old people could be brought across water in this way.

One Eastern Chiricahua informant described a bullboat which the men make: "Sometimes when there are no big logs around, they take a rawhide and put sticks crossways inside it. Then they tie the ends up. In this way they make a boat and go across with that."

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said of him, "That man never gets into trouble; he has a good wife." During my work with this man, his wife showed a lively interest and often assisted with useful suggestions and details. Not long afterward the man died, and she was truly a grief-stricken figure.

Another informant, despite the pose of male indifference, paid his wife a deserved compliment. Speaking of another woman with whom he had once been friendly, he said, "That woman was very pretty when I was a young man. I nearly married her, but I did right to marry my wife. She is a good little woman and has a good reputation."

At another time, when I inquired about a sound of wailing I heard, thinking that someone must have been newly bereaved, I was told, "No, that woman cries every once in a while like that for her husband who died many years ago. She has never married again."

One informant, irritated by insinuations that marriages among his people were not stable or satisfactory before American interference, exclaimed: "Some people think that, because the Chiricahua didn't have a license in the old days, their marriages were no good. But a man couldn't leave a woman for nothing. The Chiricahua had strict and high standards."

But no matter how satisfactory a marriage arrangement is, husbands and wives, as far as external symbols are concerned, are expected to take each other for granted and to demand no small attentions or extra considerations:

> A man does not kiss his wife or relatives. We don't show emotion like that. Young people dance together before marriage and now some kiss before marriage, but not after.
>
> The Chiricahua woman does not resent it when her husband goes off without saying goodbye or saying when he will be back, and there is no special greeting for a wife even if the man has been away several days. Yet these married people think just as much of one another as white people do. It's just their way of acting.

SEXUAL ADJUSTMENT

In speaking of the sexual adjustment in marital life, informants have emphasized the role of individual differences:

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525 There is a ceremony for luck in games and gambling, for luck in the hoop-and-
526 pole game, for foot-racing and other games. When a person has a ceremony for
777 any of these, he is usually a "professional." He depends on it to win big stakes. Ceremonies like these are among the most secret ones, for a man doesn't want
[521] others to know too much about it and spoil his luck. You can get a man to talk about anything but this and witching usually.

Ceremonies for luck are mostly in connection with racing, the hoop-and-pole game, stave games, and the moccasin game, for these are the big betting games. Singing or ceremony for luck is not carried on for the ball game or shinny. They aren't betting games but are more for exercise, although, of course, people bet on them too.

526 Foot races in which both men and women participate, constantly occur:

We have races for short distances in which women as well as men run. Some-
[804] times the women beat the men. Somebody paces off the race course. Instead of measuring by yards he uses steps. Two steps are like a yard; each time the right foot comes forward the man counts one. The track is one hundred of these "yards" long.[5]

[805] During the race the runners are timed by counting. Old men sit at the finish line counting as the runners race. Each runner has someone counting for him. I saw two of the best runners race when I was a boy. The old man only counted to eleven, and the winner was over the finish line.

At the start of the race they don't crouch. They stand braced. The man who is starting them might say, "I'm going to count. When I say 'two,' go!" Or two men might walk toward the runners with a string or a stick. When the runner is touched, he starts off. When we are camping in a place where we are going to stay for a time, we would make a track. We clear a path. This is used for horse-racing too. Cross-country foot races take place once in a while also.

541 Horse-racing and the ceremonialism associated with it are discussed by an informant:

Horse races are generally started with a gun or by shouting, "Now!" Some horses would be back of the line facing the other way; some would be on the line

[5] Another unit of measure, "one stick," was described by an informant: "We measure by saying 'one stick.' This is the distance from the middle of the chest to the end of the outstretched middle finger. Both arms outspread equals 'two sticks.' Later these were called yards. A step of the right length was called 'one stick' too. Later 100 steps were considered 100 yards. In buying a yard of cloth now we are really asking for 'the length of one stick.' The actual length of the foot is used as a unit of measure too. To measure height you take a rope or stick and measure the person; then you put it down on the ground and measure off the feet."

● [177] Note that at least two attempts have been made to equate aboriginal units of measure with the American "yard."

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526 773 [825] The hoop-and-pole game was handed down from the animals when they were people. They used to play it. The hoop-and-pole game comes from the four-footed animals like the bear [i.e., the dangerous ones] and also from the snake. During the time the snakes were people they made the game. In ceremonies the pole is referred to as a snake. This is done in the snake ceremony.

526 571 [521] The hoop-and-pole ground is as much a meeting place where masculine concerns are discussed and planned as it is a field of play. Here the men come together in easy companionship, free of the inhibitions imposed by the presence of women. It is little wonder that one commentator declared, "The hoop-and-pole ground is like a pool hall." An air of informality and good humor pervades the scene, and much jesting and story-telling are always in progress.

526 534 Often musical instruments, such as the musical bow, are played at this spot:

There is something we do around the hoop-and-pole game. A man takes a bow, just the regular fighting bow, and tightens it up. He puts one end in his mouth and hits the string with an arrow. Men enjoy doing this and are interested in it. They can make a sound like Chiricahua songs. A man can do this anywhere, but you see it mostly at the hoop-and-pole ground when the men are by themselves and enjoying themselves.

534 [526] Another musical instrument, made and played by men, is frequently seen at the hoop-and-pole ground, although it is not limited in use to this place. This is the "wood that sings" or the Apache fiddle,[9] a hollow wooden cylinder about twelve to eighteen inches long with one sinew string stretched over its surface. The bow is approximately the same length and is strung with horsehair. A single peg controls the tension and pitch of the

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[103] the point was not yet decided, they devised this game and played, but still neither could win, for their power was equally strong. The people took it up and still play it, but consider it sacred."

Two other informants who were consulted, however, claimed to know nothing about a relation between the game and its parts and the snake.

[107] [9] It is certain that these "violins" are modeled after stringed instruments introduced into the region by Europeans, but they have been made by the men of this tribe for some time now. One of the oldest members, a skilful maker of these instruments, stated: "We made it from the oldest times. I think it was the Chiricahua's own invention because it was common in my boyhood."

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195 578 201 But men, too, use this gesture and the same expression upon occasion, and it is still more vitriolic if one man levels it at another:

At Fort Sill in 1910 one man was swearing at another in every way. The other man said nothing that night. The next morning he came up to the one who had cursed him. He was making the woman's gesture of contempt. He said, "You spoke bravely last night. Now let's see what you can do."

They fought. The one who had started the trouble the night before went down. The one on top took dirt and sticks and grass and hit him on the mouth with them saying, "Now you won't use such bad language perhaps!"

When a person is goaded to action by insult or abuse, there is an exclamation that warns of the attack to come:

There is an expression of rage, "*ahagahe!*" It means that a man has stood for as much as he is going to. When you hear that, you know that the man is going for his weapon and will fight it out. The word has no literal meaning.

195 578 562 In keeping with their assertions concerning the greater peevishness of women in comparison to men, a number of male informants have insisted that women are quicker to make use of these inflamatory phrases:

As a general rule in the old days, Chiricahua men didn't curse. The women did most of the cursing. There were very few bad words. Then if you said, "You [177] coyote!" or "Your excrement!" that was very, very bad. Cursing was brought in by the white people. Now the woman doesn't talk that way, and the man does. A big change, isn't it!

ANTISOCIAL CONDUCT

577 797 183 In the eyes of his fellows the moral person is one who heeds the social conventions and discharges his obligations in obedience to the tribal ethic.

[755] Ceremonies for curing are religious. But these have nothing to do with morals. You can have a ceremony performed over you and drink and do what you please.

The Chiricahua religion is directed toward long life, good health, and things like that. In the Chiricahua way, I can't see how religion has anything to do with living right, as long as a person is not a witch and is not trying to use his ceremony for meanness. Religion might be a good thing all right, but I know from experience with my people that it didn't take that to make a person good.

Good conduct is the result of obeying the customs, and it is up to the person. It has nothing to do with religion. A man would come to a bad end in the old days because he violated the customs. It's just a matter of a man looking out for his own welfare. If you obey all the rules, you get along all right in Chiricahua

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took a gun and shot into the air about fifteen times, right in succession. This was not done with arrows before the guns came into use. I'm pretty sure it dates from the time that guns came in. It may be connected with the shooting over the graves of dead soldiers by their comrades that the Chiricahua saw. Such shooting is not always done, but it occurs quite often.

The close relatives get the body ready for burial. A close friend might help, but it's hard to ask him. A person who lays out the corpse of a near relative does not mind so much, for he is supposed to do it, but you have a queer feeling if you lay out the body of one you are not related to. No particular relative has to do it. All those who are closely related to the dead person feel that they should help if they are called on. It can be men or women who do it. We don't like to do it, but it can't be helped. We are really a little afraid to handle bodies. Not long ago I had to handle a little baby when it died; I had to stay up and see it die. Many try to get out of it when they can.

The body is bathed, or at least the face of the dead person is always washed. The hair is combed, and red paint is put on his face to make him look nice. The dead person is dressed up in his best clothes for the burial. The burial always takes place in the day, on the same day that death occurred if possible. They bury the corpse quickly and far from the settlements—in the mountains, if they are near. They don't want children at a burial. Just a few older people who are needed go.

The best horse, the favorite horse of the dead person, is used. The dead person's robes or blankets are tied to the horse, and the horse is loaded with his belongings. His good saddle is put on the horse. Then the corpse is mounted on the horse and is held there by his relatives as the funeral procession makes its way up the canyon to the place where the burial is to be. As the funeral procession passes near the camps, the people cry for the dead man, if he was their good friend.

Out there the members of the burial party might strike a little natural depression at the bottom of a hill. They could use this as a grave. They wrap the body in a blanket or a hide, put a little brush under it and some on top, and put a few rocks on top if they are handy. Or they put down a layer of rocks, put the body on it, then brush and branches over, then leaves and dirt, and finally rocks on top until there is a small mound.

If they find a little cave or a hole in the rocks, that is used.[3] The body is put on the floor, and the entrance is blocked up with rocks and covered with mud to hide it and make it look like the side of the cliff. They aren't going to talk about the grave and tell where it is. They don't want anyone to know or think about it.

When a cave is not handy, they might scoop out a hollow grave and bury the body in a hole in the ground. A hide or logs would be put over the body to keep out the animals.

The body is always laid with the head to the sundown. The property they

[3] Interestingly enough, there is a term which means both "cave cache" and "grave."

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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619 621 101 From the point of view of the native the band was more important than the tribe. This is reflected in nomenclature. Neither the Chiricahua nor Mescalero have true native tribal names, but the bands are named. This undoubtedly derives from the fact that in aboriginal times, due to the scattered condition of the tribe and the large area which it controlled, an Apache's meaningful contacts were likely to be limited to members of his band. There were few occasions when tribal unity could be affirmed by a gathering of all tribesmen.

184 ## CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MESCALERO AND CHIRICAHUA

Besides the linguistic differences between the Mescalero and Chiricahua, and the relatively minor tribal distinctions in songs, rites, myths, and folk beliefs which might be expected, the most noticeable tribal variations existed in the realm of material culture. The Mescalero made trips to the plains to hunt buffalo, and were to some degree dependent upon this animal for meat, skins, and sinew. The Chiricahua were too far west to benefit to any great extent by the presence of buffalo on the plains. When living or hunting on the plains the Mescalero made use of the skin-covered tipi and transported the poles for it by horse in the form of a travois. But only the Warm Springs, the most eastern band of the Chiricahua, made any use of the tipi or travois, and then infrequently. The Mescalero shaped rawhide parfleches and painted them with Plains-like geometric designs. The parfleches of the Chiricahua were undecorated.

[224] [342] [492] [415] [531]

291 184 An orientation towards the Plains can be discerned in Mescalero dress and hairdress, too. The typical costume of the Mescalero man was buckskin shirt, loin-cloth, leggings, and hard-soled, low-cut moccasins. His hair was braided and wrapped. The Chiricahua man presented a markedly different appearance. He wore no leggings, his moccasins came high on his legs and showed a curious, disc-shaped, upward projection at the toe. His hair hung loosely or was kept in place by a headband only.

[177] [302] [302]

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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Not uncommonly the Mescalero women, too, wore leggings and braided (but did not wrap) her hair. The Chiricahua woman wore no leggings. Her hair was gathered at the back of the head, tied there, and covered with a decorated form of hour-glass shape. The Mescalero plucked the eyebrows, a practice which the Chiricahua never followed.

The tendency of the Mescalero to draw inspiration from the Plains is observable in many other aspects of the culture, particularly in the war complex. The round, rawhide shield was of more frequent occurrence among the Mescalero than among the Chiricahua. The Mescalero always made a designed buckskin cover for the shield, whereas the Chiricahua shield lacked a buckskin cover more often than not, the decoration being painted directly upon the rawhide. The trailing feather headdress is associated with Mescalero war practices but it is not to be found for the Chiricahua. The same differentiation may be observed for scalping. While the Mescalero warrior was by no means as interested in scalping as his Plains counterpart, he had distinctly more feeling for the practice than did the Chiricahua. Upon the return of a successful war party, it was an integral part of the celebration for the Mescalero fighters to relate the character of their exploits and for their fellow warriors to bear witness to their bravery and veracity. This usage was unknown to Chiricahua warfare.

It seems patent that the essential divergences between Chiricahua and Mescalero cultures can be defined in terms of the eastern position of the latter which made possible contact and association with the buffalo-hunting tribes of the southern plains. Even in matters ceremonial this criterion proves sound. The sole major variation between Mescalero and Chiricahua ritual life is that the Mescalero carried on peyote ceremonies and the Chiricahua did not. Since the greatest development of the peyote cults occurred among the Plains tribes and their immediate neighbors, this tribal difference can likewise be laid to geographical position.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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There was a late introduction of agriculture which will be described presently, but its influence always remained slight. The Apache's efforts were not directed toward improving upon nature's offerings, but rather upon utilizing the largest number of natural goods, and using each one to the best advantage.

The utilization of plants for food, drinks, and narcotics was but one facet of this process, of course. In succeeding bulletins we expect to give some indication of the degree to which wild plants were used for medicines and for the making of tools, weapons, and artifacts in general. Every tree and bush had been tested for its qualities in all cultural contexts. Any Chiricahua or Mescalero above middle age will tell you that mulberry wood made the finest bow and that locust runs it a close second for this purpose. The wood of the chokecherry bush was the universal favorite among these Apache for arrows. Oak was considered the most durable for the outer rim of the cradle-board. The Apache took pride in matching his materials to the purpose at hand.

But to appreciate the total round of Apache life and thinking, and to comprehend the significance of many features of the culture, our understanding of the Apache's relation to his natural surroundings must penetrate even further. That relation does not halt with a minute scrutiny of the environment and the practical applications which flow therefrom. It involves the Apache's world conception and his total relationship to nature.

The Apache, however arrogant may have been his relations with his fellowmen, was entirely cognizant of his abjectness and dependence before natural forces. He relied upon nature's bounty and suffered when drought or inclement weather curtailed it. He never lacked for vigorous enemies. He was ever a prey to frightening sicknesses. In the battle of wits between him and the wild game he stalked he was many times out-distanced. Whatever hazards he surmounted, there were always old age and death to strike him down at last. In the words of his own prayers, before the forces of nature he was "a poor fellow," and "a pitiable object."

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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and his divine mother, and its execution was, therefore, a matter of learning by rote the directions which these two laid down.[4]

HUNTING

Something has already been said about the hunt in connection with our discussion of the Apache's relation to his natural surroundings. Apache hunting customs are so interlarded with belief and ritual observances that only the briefest outline can be suggested here.

When the Apache boy is still very young, a close male relative provides him with a small bow and blunt arrows. With these the boy practices, trying to shoot birds and small mammals. When he succeeds in making his first kill, he marks its heart with a cross of pollen and swallows it raw and whole. At about the age of puberty he hunts in the company of an older and more experienced man for larger game. When he kills his first deer, antelope, or elk, his companion marks the boy's moccasins or face with blood from the heart of the animal.

The Apache ate the flesh of deer, antelope, elk, mountain sheep, cotton-tail rabbits, opossum, and wood rats. The buffalo was hunted by the Mescalero, as we have noted. Many would not touch jack-rabbit flesh. Some ate mountain-lion flesh and peccary, but many would not taste peccary, and mountain-lion was eaten by most in a ceremonial context only. Bear was eaten only by those who had a ceremony from the bear or by those who were consuming it ritually. Some ate squirrel flesh, and some would not taste it. The same was true for the prairie-dog and ringtail cat *(Bassariscus astutus flavus)*. Birds were not in high favor as food. As far back as can be remembered many Apache would not eat turkey, quail, and dove. Fish was another food upon which the Apache were not of one opinion. The members of at least one Chiricahua band did not eat fish before White contact. It is claimed, on the other hand, that

4. For a more complete discussion of the Apache conception of supernatural power see Opler (18).

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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262 some Mescalero and some Chiricahua did partake of fish.
[177] After White contact, horses, mules, and wild steer were added to the diet.

[825] There were many animals, such as the mink, beaver,
[224] muskrat, and weasel, which were not used as food but which were sought for their skins or because their body parts were
223 of ceremonial import. Birds such as the eagle, turkey, and turkey buzzard were shot or snared for their feathers or body parts.

224 Head masks were used in stalking deer and antelopes, and head nooses were occasionally strung in the trails for deer. Antelopes were run to exhaustion by relays of men
[223] mounted on fast horses. Oval bird blinds were built at water holes, and from them the hiding hunter would shoot the birds he wanted as they came for water. Eagles and turkey vultures were taken in snares set around the carcass of some dead animal. Occasionally a rabbit surround was held, in which old and young participated and shot or clubbed the prey. The ordinary manner in which a man hunted for larger game, however, was to go out by himself or with a companion, depending upon his knowledge of the habits of the game to lead him to the place where an animal might be browsing, and from there to track it, approach it without being discovered, and dispatch it with a well directed arrow or two.

224
576 Every aspect of the hunt is governed by rule for the Apache. If he shoots a deer and another man is with him at the time or comes up at that moment, etiquette decrees that he step aside and allow his companion to help himself. The newcomer is entitled to the hide and as much of the meat as he desires. Ordinarily he takes the hide and half of the flesh. If two hunters come upon a third who has just made a kill, they race for the carcass, and the one who touches it
[526] first is entitled to the hide. Should both touch the kill at the same time, the issue is decided by a wrestling match between them.

224
736 The successful Apache hunter must not turn away the widow or the needy woman empty-handed when he returns

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through the camps. Any woman who has no one to provide for her may approach him at this time and help herself to what he has without protest from him. Often, in times of scarcity, an Apache hunter would reach his own dwelling with little to show for his efforts.

AGRICULTURE

It is doubtful whether the Apache practiced what could really be called agriculture until very recently. As a matter of fact they raised so little maize and expended so little care upon it that the practice, in aboriginal times, did not interfere with their nomadic life. They obtained maize from the Pueblos and the Mexicans, planted some in sheltered canyons, returned once or twice to pull the worst of the weeds, even did a little irrigating if the land were exceptionally dry and water could be easily diverted to it, and then came back when they thought the crop would be ready to harvest.

One of the oldest of the Chiricahua told the writer, "My people did not practice farming. The Indians had many plants which were given to them and did not have to practice it. They move around so much too." Another Chiricahua man testified, "I do not think the Chiricahua ever planted before they came under the influence of the Whites." Still another member of the tribe spoke of planting as a trait that had been "picked up" long ago in Mexico. Most of the informants seem to realize that what agriculture they practiced came to them from the outside, and many of those who state that it was carried on in the "old days" interpret that to mean no more than the lifetime of their parents or grandparents.

Just when these Apache began to plant is difficult to estimate. At any rate it is certain that the agricultural efforts of the Apache were at first far from elaborate. They have been described by an old Mescalero as follows: "Only two or three families out of a hundred would farm. That's in the earliest time I can remember. We got the corn seed from raiding settlers and Mexicans. This was before gov-

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243 [648] [177] [412] ernment control. In those days the settlers planted corn far from the houses. It was easy to get, and we got it from the south (Mexico) mostly. We had just a digging stick—no hoe. With this we made holes and planted the corn shallowly, about four or five seeds to one hole. Pulling the weeds was about all the care we gave it. We might be traveling around but we came back to it at the time we knew it would be ready to harvest. My people used no irrigation then. This went on before my time, when my father was a boy too, and before his father's time. The Mescalero planted around Tularosa, New Mexico, and La Luz at that time."

The same informant told how wheat seed, obtained from Mexico during raids or from the early settlers, was planted in sandy loam, harvested by beating it with a stick, and made into bread.

241 177 [439] [412] Later, in the early 1870's, when the Warm Springs Apache were given a separate reservation near Hot Springs, they turned more to agriculture and considerably refined these haphazard methods. Under the influence of neighboring Mexican towns with which they carried on trade, they began to use hoes shaped out of the bent root of a tree, and later obtained hoes of Mexican manufacture. Watermelons and cantaloupes were raised as well as corn, and later beans, pumpkins, potatoes, chile, and squash. Irrigation was now regularly adopted, trenches being dug from the water supply to the field, and stopped up with earth when the land was sufficiently watered. Maize kernels and beans, to be used for seed, were sometimes soaked all night in water to make them sprout faster and then dropped two or three in a hole. Pumpkin and watermelon seeds were often soaked like this before planting too. When the seeds were soaked beforehand they were not planted so deeply as when they were planted dry.

241 [462] Agriculture never became important enough for the Apache to consider it one of the manly arts. Both sexes took part in the task of planting, but the weeding, harvesting, and preparation were left almost entirely to the women. Agriculture has never exerted influence enough to figure

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the women became quite proficient and well known for their abilities along this line. 273 [462]

The above was the usual method of preparing *tulbai* but a number of variations of the process have been developed. Ground wheat was often added to the boiled corn to make the beverage foam, also to make it stronger. Occasionally yeast was combined with the mixture and not infrequently the juice of fermented mescal was squeezed into the liquid to hasten fermentation as well as to give a blended flavor. Chips of shaved oak root *(Quercus grisea)* gave the *tulbai* flavor, and mesquite root *(Prosopis glandulosa)*, dandelion flowers *(Taraxacum officinale)*, and hop flowers *(Humulus lupulus neomexicanus)* were used for the same purpose, and to make the drink stronger. Hrdlička *(12:27)* referred to small quantities of roots of native plants being added to *tulbai* as "medicine." Our observation is that this needs qualification, to the extent that the Apache do say that *tulbai* is "good for you" and "cleans you out," but they do not use it in the first instance as medicine. [137] [824]

Frequently, wheat instead of corn was used to make the beverage, the process of germination, grinding, boiling, and fermenting being the same as with corn.

Both the Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache claim that they had no knowledge of *tulbai* in the distant past and that its use penetrated among them from the south. Most accounts have it that the Lipan Apache brought it northward, but some state it was learned from the natives of northern Mexico. Hrdlička *(11:190)* and Browne *(3:411)* are of the opinion that the preparation and use of this beverage was learned by the Apache from the Mexican Indians, Hrdlička recording that it was brought to the White River Apache from the more southerly Chiricahua Apache, who were said to have learned to make it in Mexico. 273 177

Murphy *(16:347)*, writing in 1865 as military superintendent of the Mescalero Apache, recorded his reluctance to give these Indians whole corn because they made from it an intoxicating drink—*"teeswin"* on which they got very drunk. In consequence no corn, but corn flour, 273 648

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from our informants that these Apache ever distilled this or any other alcoholic beverage. 273

Both sotol and mescal beverages were reported as being older than *tulbai*. Informants said that they learned the use of *tulbai* from the Lipans and the Yaqui. [177]

Another mildly intoxicating alcoholic beverage formerly prepared, although at present not in common use, was made by finely grinding cooked mesquite *(Prosopis glandulosa)* pods and seeds. A little water was added during the grinding process and more to the ground mass, then the mixture allowed to ferment for a day and a night. This is a very old drink among the Apache. [137] [178]

These Apache formerly prepared and still make pinole as a very common drink. The fresh fruits of screw bean *(Strombocarpa pubescens)* were ground and to the meal was added some sweetening substance (sugar is now used) to make a thick drink. Another method of preparation was boiling the fruit until it got soft, making a sort of gruel, then adding the sweetening substance and drinking it. 272 [137]

The fruits of a number of species of Opuntia or prickly pear cactus were and still are mashed, the juice extracted and drunk, without fermenting, as a refreshing beverage which was regarded as very healthful. Non-intoxicating beverages were also made by boiling the leaves and young stems of the sage *(Artemisia aromatica)*, *Leucelene ericoides*, horsemint *(Monarda menthaefolia)*, pennyroyal *(Hedeoma nana)*, as well as the leaves of the lip fern *(Cheilanthes fendleri)* and cota *(Thelesperma gracile)*. This last named species which the Apache call "tea" has been extensively used in common with practically all Indians of southwestern United States, from ancient times down to the present, to make a beverage. Portions of the plant were wrapped into small bundles and might be used fresh or stored indefinitely. When boiled in water a red liquid was produced and was usually consumed without being sweetened, although the addition of a little sugar made the drink even more palatable. A drink used much as is coffee, made by boiling the fresh leaves of mariola *(Parthenium in-* [137] [171] [263] [137]

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canum), is the beverage known as *gaxe*. (This Indian word was derived from the Spanish word for coffee.)

* * *

The Apache used a few species of plants as narcotics. One of these was *Broussonetia secundiflora*, known as "mountain laurel," and also by the Spanish names *frijollito* or *frijolilla*. It is a beautiful evergreen shrub with glossy dark green leaves, common in the Guadalupe Mountains southwest of Carlsbad, although these Apache report having gathered bags full of beans on the roadside in the hills twenty miles from Roswell, as well as in Mexico.

The large, scarlet beans of this legume have been widely reported as being poisonous, having rather marked narcotic effects. The Apache are well aware of its narcotic effect. In one of their stories the trickster, coyote, intoxicates a party of prospectors by means of the beans. Present day Apache are not familiar with its use in *tulbai* but they report that the beans were formerly mixed with that beverage occasionally. One of our informants, speaking of the beans, said, "One day I felt sleepy. I ate two of these beans out of a pod. It sure waked me up. I didn't see anything. I just felt good." The beans were rarely eaten by the Apache, however. These seeds were also used ceremonially and an occasional Apache might be seen to wear a string of the red beans around his neck. According to Havard *(10*:39) these seeds contain an alkaloid, sophorine, which is a strong irritant narcotic poison. He also records that, according to Bellanger, the Indians near San Antonio, Texas, formerly used them as an intoxicant, half a bean producing "delirious exhiliration followed by a sleep which lasts two or three days" and that a whole bean would cause death.

Peyote or the Dumpling Cactus *(Lophophora williamsii)*, which contains a powerful alkaloid, was formerly in common use by the the Indians of northern Mexico who sliced and dried the plant and employed it in association with their ceremonial dances *(27*:104). It is reported that the use of Peyote by the Indians was learned from the Mexicans *(23*:1).

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toward spring sometime, and he pretty near died. It was pneumonia, I think. He told the story to others, and they spread it all right.

He was unconscious and out of his mind. He was out of his mind, but he wasn't dreaming. His relatives thought he was going to die. When he was out of his mind, he was somewhere else, as he told the story. He said afterward, "I saw the place where the dead people go. I was on a high mountain. On the side of the mountain there was grass, yucca, and rocks." His relatives were crying that he was going to die. He was already out of his mind and in the other place they said.

He said he felt that he was dying, and all at once he opened his eyes. He was sitting there and then he began to slide. He grasped the grass. He saw a big shoot down there.[21] He was part way in, just hanging on the edge.

Something said, "Look down there; that's where all the dead people are."

This man said, "I looked down there and saw all kinds of beasts down there. It's a big round cave. It's dark down there, but after while I saw bones. The animals, lions and others, were just waiting for me to fall." It's very, very peculiar, but it's the way he told it a few months before we came to Mescalero. He looked down and was holding on to the edge. The voice said, "Those are dead people's bones; those animals eat up the flesh."[22]

He did not yet know who was speaking to him. He just heard a voice. And he could hardly keep from sliding in there. It was a deep pit, nothing but solid rocks.

The voice said, "Look at me."

This man said, "I looked up. There was the Devil standing

[21] The aboriginal Chiricahua belief is of an underworld which the dead reach by falling through a hole in the earth's crust onto a cone of sand below.

[22] The punishment of the dead in the afterworld is an idea traceable to Christian doctrines. The aboriginal Chiricahua conception of the underworld pictured a land of plenty and contentment, with no judgment of the departed.